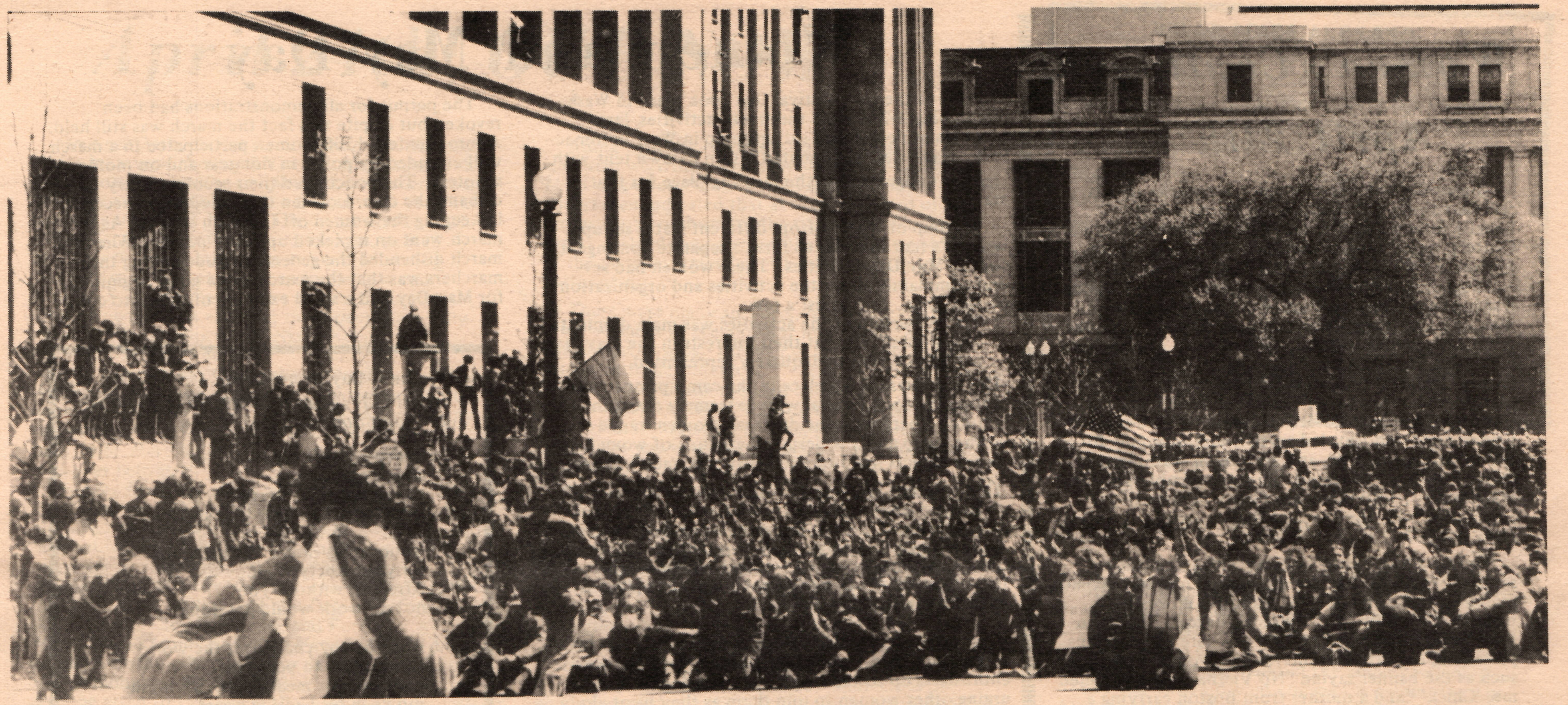

Our brothers and sisters surrounded by police at the Justice Dept., Washington, May 4. Photo: Roy Young

Bread, Peace, and Land

Independent Community Voice

Cleveland, Ohio   Vol. 1, No. 6   May, 1971

MAYDAY!

(Editor's Note: Over 50,000 people converged on Washington, D.C. last week in an attempt to disrupt the government. More than 15,000 arrests were made as police tried to thwart the protests. The following eye-witness account was written by BPL staff member Dan Marschall who spent last week in Washington covering the May-day demonstrations.)

May 1

We arrived in Washington on Saturday morning and set up camp in Algonquin Peace City, located at West Potomac Park near the Lincoln Memorial. The area was a hodgepedge of cars, trucks, tents, concessionaires and people doing everything from smoking dope to playing trisbee. The Park itself was divided into 13 sections according to different regions of the country. Each region was to hit a specific target area on Monday morning.

By evening there were at least 50,000 people attending the Peace Treaty Celebration Rock Show sponsored by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. Lasting until 4:30 Sunday morning, the festival starred Phil Ochs, B.B. King, Johnny Winter the Beach Boys, Pride of Women, and numerous other nationally known bands.

There was a lot of dope in circulation, a situation not uncommon at all rock festivals. But there was one important difference: all of the LSD, mescalin, and psilicybin being sold was heavily laced with strychnine. Many people were poisoned throughout the day, although luckily none were killed. The medical tents were literally overflowing with those who were freaking out or were already unconscious. Many people suspected that the government had brought in much of the bad dope to immobilize those in attendance at the festival.

Saturday was most importantly a day for organizing those who had just arrived in preparation for the activities of the coming days. Regional meetings were held throughout the day to plan what targets were to be hit and what non-violent tactics would be most effective. We also split up into affinity groups – groups of 5-10 people who would work together in the streets to disrupt traffic.

May 2

We awoke at dawn on Sunday morning and found ourselves face to face with several hundred cops stationed at the Northern end of West Potomac Park. It was soon announced that our permit had been revoked during the night and that we had until noon to clear out. When a police wagon circled the encampment officially declaring our eviction, it was pelted with rocks and bottles by a small group of people.

There was much debate as to exactly what we should do. Some felt that it would be most effective to just remain in the Park and face mass arrests. But most had expected this type of action from the government and decided to leave slowly and to regroup in other places throughout the city.

There were more regional meetings held and individual affinity groups left to inspect their target areas. When the police marched into the Park at 12:00, there were only a few hundred people remaining.

The Justice Department apparently felt that they could inhibit the Monday street demonstrations by breaking us up into many disorganized groups. They failed miserably. They merely hurried the departure of those who had come only for the rock festival.. Those who had always intended to remain just found another place to stay for the might. In fact, they really did us a service, for now we could approach our targets from many different areas.

Sidney Peck, a CWRU professor and a co-ordinator of the PCPJ, expressed a popular sentiment when he said that the Nixon Administration had acted illegally in revoking the campsite permit.

The major activity originally planned for Sunday was a 3 hour Soul Rally at the Washington Monument. This was to be the last opportunity for Nixon to announce an end to the war before we fulfilled our promise: if the government won't stop the war, we'll stop the government. The permit for this rally was also revoked without any justification. The Monument grounds were closed off all day.. No groups were even allowed to congregate within a few blocks of the area.

May 3

We hit the streets early Monday morning. Although the rush hour started around 7:15, some major confrontations occured as early as 6:00. The Georgetown University area had already been cordoned off. Since troops lined the major bridges, traffic could only be disrupted for a few minutes at these places. Other major target areas - key intersections and traffic circles - were heavily guarded by the police and we could only stop traffic there for limited amounts of time.

When we were forced away from our main targets, we split into affinity groups and scattered throughout Washington disrupting traffic at strategic locations. We usually blocked traffic by standing in a line in front of the oncoming cars. But we also used such tactics as throwing garbage into the street, erecting barricades, lifting small cars away from the curb, and letting the air out of tires. There were only isolated incidents of violence on the part of the

Continued on page 4

BULLETIN! BULLETIN!

The approximately 275 students (including nearly the entire full time day school black student body) who appeared to protest the oppressive, newly drafted discipline code at the April Faculty Council meeting raised their voices in vain. 10 student government members met on Sunday April 9th, (18 days since the first official meeting of the Ad Hoc Discipline Code Committee) and arbitrarily voted to dismiss the recently formed committee because THEY felt that the new code was perfectly adaquate and acceptable—the same new code that we students find so obnoxious.

Not only have our representatives thumbed their noses in the faces of their fellow students, but they have also decided to snub the faculty committee which returned the code to student government for revision by deciding to submit the code directly to the Trustees, without seeking the accord of the members of faculty council.

The Trustees meet on Wednesday, May 12 at 4 P. M. in the board room (301, University Hall). ATTEND THIS MEETING! YOUR RIGHTS ARE AT STAKE!

CSU: Vote IRA

Student elections are not the same this year. It's true, this year the students will not be forced to choose between candidates all of whom espouse the same tired rhetoric and run on slogans of making student government relevant and ending student apathy.

This year there is a revolutionary party. The party is the Independent Radical Association. Candidates running on the IRA platform are not feeding students promises which only amount to gobbledygook. IRA candidates and members stand commited to fight for open admissions, day care, and student self-determination and to fight against racism, women's oppression and war involvement as expressed by the University.

The IRA will not compromise its beliefs, will not play the game of politics. Vote Positive. Vote Change. Vote IRA.

Larry Pellegrin	Senator at Large
Nancy Handley	Senator at Large
Dan Marschall	Senator at Large
Joseph Burke	Senior Senator

Women's Contingent

April 24th

A growing number of women across the nation feel that along with fighting for reforms that benefit women, such as the establishment of Day Care Centers, repeal of abortion laws, and equal job opportunities we should act as a political body to affect a change in government policy. The inhuman Vietnam war is one of these policies. For this reason the Women's Contingent was established to march in the April 24th demonstration. One of the 17 buses from Cleveland was filled by women from the Welfare Rights Organization and several women's liberation groups, including that of Cleveland State University. The buses left from CWRU campus at 11:30 p.m. Friday night and traveled seven hours, stopping for a rest at Breezewood Pa. and arriving in Washington about 7:00 a.m. Since no one was assembling for the march until 10:00 there was plenty of time to get acquainted with the city and find a place to eat breakfast.

Led by a huge white balloon with red lettering saying "Women's Contingent" several hundred women marched to the chants "Sisterhood is Powerful- End the War NOW" and "Women have the Right to Life- Defend the Right to Live". There were actions pertaining to particular interests of women as well, such as the banner saying "No Vietnamese ever called me, 'Chick'" and a mother from Boston carrying a sign saying "Mother's Against the War" on a mop handle with mop head included. One important theme of the Women's Contingent was an expression of solidarity with Vietnamese women saying they were not "the enemy" but sisters in a united struggle for self-determination.

Women from every class, color, and age were there. It was very heartening to see how powerful women can be when banded together in a common struggle. No one among the Contingent thought of the demonstration as "fun". War is no joke. Women especially are aware of the useless waste of this war as lives are sacrificed for capitalist gain and money for child support, health care, and other social needs is not available. They have always been in the forefront of reform. Perhaps this is why the first speaker at the rally was a former Suffragette.

This action showed that more women should be united as one voice to insure that their particular needs will be met. No self-centered institution will consider its members unless those members forcefully voice their demands.

GET IT TOGETHER SISTERS!

Women and May Day

Prior to the rock festival that took place in Washington May 1-2 to start the weeks activities, large numbers of people had set up camp in West Potomac Park. Each state represented set up its own tent with signs to designate it as the meeting place for that state.

A group of women from different states set up a women's tent in order to form a separate contingent for the May Day activities. These women had several complaints about the activities and organization of May Day. Just to list a few:

The leadership of the activities was male dominated.
The women felt that their interests in the May Day activities weren't adequately represented.

The activities taking place in the camp prior to and during the rock festival were extremely sexist in nature. There were incidents of women raped in the camp and a widespread attitude of women as sex objects just there to satisfy the men's desires.

The choice of Dr. Spock as a speaker at the rally to be held on Sunday was also an issue. Dr. Spock has voiced and written his opinions that women involved in politics lose their femininity. To Spock a political woman is an unnatural phenomenon, for, of course we all know that a woman's place is in the home with her children.

In order to protest these activities a long line of women marched through the dense crowd of rock enthusiasts up to the stage, shouting slogans and urging other women to join them as they went along. Once at the stage, after much disagreement, the women persuaded the promoters of the concert to let them have ten minutes of speaking time to bring up their grievances and also to inform the women of the audience about the activities planned by the women's contingent to May Day.

Sunday, May 2 all people in West Potomac Park were evicted by the police who arrived bright and early (6:00 A.M.) to inform the people that the permit for the park had been revoked. A group of 250 people who refused to leave were arrested. The surprise move by the police was to get rid of as many people as possible before the civil disobedience began on Monday.

Sunday afternoon the women had planned a march to show solidarity with their sisters in Saigon who were having a demonstration on the same day. The women had decided to hold the march around specific buildings such as the D.A.R. building, the Red Cross building, the American Pharmaceutical Co., and the State Department building, whose activities were oppressive to women and which were also influential in perpetuating the war.

The permit for all demonstrations had been revoked but dispite this fact the march was still held. Approximately 1500 women participated in a march well attended by police in riot gear and on motor scooters. The police used their scooters to try to disband the crowd. When this failed they succeeded in keeping the women off the main streets. As the march went on it picked up many people. When the march disbanded the general attitude among the marchers was that the march was a good beginning for May Day and a small example of things to come.

Mother's Day Incantation
by WITCH *(Women Interested in Toppling Consumption Holidays)*

Every year we set aside
a very special day
to remind you, Martyr Dear,
that *home* is where you stay.

Your family wants to thank you
for your martyrdom.
After all, without you
no *real* work would get done.

While hubby challenges the world
his wonders to perform
you cook his meals, clean his home
and keep his bedside warm.

Your children are your challenge,
in them your dreams are sown.
You've given up your own life
and live for them alone.

Now look upon your daughter
will she too be enslaved
to a man, a home, and family
or can she still be saved?

This is your real challenge-
renounce your martyrdom!
Become a *liberated mother*
a woman, not a "mom"

Free Abortion on Demand: No Forced Sterilization

On Saturday, April 10th approximately 150 people demonstrated on public Square to protest Ohio's inhuman abortion law. Women carried a banner saying, "Free Abortion on Demand: No Forced Sterilization". There were also many other signs and posters protesting the fact that 1) thousands of women are murdered by botched abortions. 2) that society cares little for the welfare of children after they are born, oppressing both children and women by not providing adequate and low-cost health care and child-care facilities. 3) that women must bear the consequences for using unreliable or potentially dangerous contraceptives. 4) and that women are the ones who are forcibly sterilized --- or 5) are the ones to whom sterilization is denied, when asked for. It was obvious from the signs, banners, and speeches at the demonstration that the laws, the hospitals, the doctors aren't very consistent. The only thing that is consistent is the denial of our right to control our own reproductive lives.

The demonstration was called by the Abortion Project Coalition and was endorsed by CSU's Women's Liberation, CWRU Women's Liberation, Baldwin-Wallace Women's Liberation, *Bread, Peace and Land*, National Organization for Women (NOW), and Association for the Reform of Ohio's Laws (AROAL). There were speakers from these organizations and also from the Health Collective of Cleveland Women's Liberation.

Abortion Hearings

The abortion bills -- one a reform bill proposed by State Representative Robert Manning, (R-Akron), the other a repeal bill proposed by State Representative John Galbraith (R-Maumee) -- have been assigned to the Judiciary Committee at the State House in Columbus. State Representative Joseph Tully is chairman of this committee and an avowed opponent of any abortion reform. He will try to stall on setting a date for open hearings, hoping that the committee will recess early in June and that the abortion bills will have died in committee without a hearing. Others, like State Representative Manning, the initiator of one of the bills, will try to have open hearings but will want to keep the hearing short so that only a few experts, mostly male, may testify. These people say that although it may be good therapy for those in the women's movement to get up and testify, that the effect will be negative for the bill, pulling in all sorts of adverse mail from all over the state. I think such men have their heads up their asses and are in fact the very ones that will sell us short in their committee with some kind of mongrelized compromise bill that will not help women at all.

We must make an effort to appear in Columbus on the day of the open hearings. We know they don't really want us there. But we ought to show up and make ourselves heard --- tell them that we want to control our own lives, that we will settle for nothing less than repeal. Women, try to keep informed on when the open hearings are. They will try to give very short notice to the public. They don't really care what the public thinks. Let's open up the hearings and tell it like it is, in the streets outside if necessary. Go to Columbus on the day of the open abortion hearings!

Day Care:

$6,000,000 available only $100,000 used

County welfare departments were authorized to purchase day care services beginning in June 1969 by State Senate Bill 229.

The state was willing to spend $4.50 per day per child of families with no more than two children- this expenditure is designed to aid the non-welfare poor. In this case, "the caretaker parent (single mother or father who because of the absence from the home or the disability of the other parent, is normally needed to remain at home to care for a child or children) is employed full-time or enrolled in and participating in a training program to prepare for full time employment."

Further restrictions include a maximum income of $235 per month for the "caretaker parent." If both parents work, no daycare subsidy is allowed. Hardship allowances were designated for families which pay more than 30% of their monthly income for rent, or if there is any disability or extreme medical expense.

Income ceilings and hardship allowances are a matter of bureaucratic policy set by the state and are not legislated. Allowances are considered "very difficult" to compute and the county has already been complaining of lack of staff. Thus in 1970, only two families out of 46 applicants in Cuyahoga County received hardship allowances.

Funds supposedly available for Ohio between June 31, 1969 and June 31, 1971 were $6 million in state and federal monies. State-wide, only $100 thousand has been spent during this time so far. These funds are still supposedly available until the end of June if people could convince Gilligan's welfare director, John Hansan to change stringent eligibility requirements.

Another aspect to this problem is that the county welfare department has been negligent in informing people about the available funds and in making staff available. The state welfare director hopes to get a greater allocation of money from the state when the bill is refunded after June, but how can he ask for more when so little has been spent already?

The law must be changed so that both parents can work and still be assisted in obtaining day care, the minimum per child should be raised to $6 per day per child, seasonally employed or part-time workers must receive subsidies, money should be used to build and staff new day care centers, the $235 per month maximum income must be raised to a least $400, sliding scales for partial subsidy should be developed for families above the limit, large families should not be penalized by income limits.

The system of applying for day care subsidy should be taken out of the jurisdiction of the inhuman welfare department, and a community controlled department of day care should be created to spend the available state funds.

April 24th; OUT NOW

On April 24th, after a week of dramatic demonstrations by several thousand Vietnam Vets Against the War, nearly one million people took to the streets of Washington and San Fransisco to join with the Vets in demanding **OUT NOW!** The demonstration, which was by far the largest seen in either city, proved conclusively that not only do the overwhelming majority of Americans want an immediate end to all U. S. involvement in the affairs of the Indo-Chinese people, but also that these people are fully aware of the fraudulence of Nixon's claim to be 'winding down' the war.

Also exposed was the assertion that the Anti-War Movement was dead, that people are sick-and-tired of taking to the streets. Far from being dead or in any sort of disarray, the Anti-War Movement showed itself to be more broadly based and more energetic than ever before.

For the first time, organized labor participated in large numbers: local 1199 chartered 50 busses in New York and brought down a contingent of 2500 hospital workers. District 65 brought down 1500 unionists on a chartered train. Other large groups included locals from the Bakery Workers Union, UAW locals from Cleveland and Detroit, UE districts from Cleveland, Erie, and Fort Wayne, locals from the United Farm Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Fur and Leather Workers, and Cleaning and Dyeing Workers. Special mention must be given to two locals of the American Federation of Government Employees, who defied the national leadership of the union and joined the march.

There was a contingent of about 1,000 women and about 2,000 marched in a Third World Brigade. Also, there was a large and militant group of Arab students, who were led by Palestinians.

Along with the veterans of 6 or 7 years of marching were the neophytes to the movement: *The Washington Post* reported that a survey it had undertaken indicated that at least one-third of the protestors were there for the first time. The same survey yielded the estimate that at least one-half of the marchers travelled at least 200 miles to participate.

There were many speakers, representing virtually every segment of the anti-war movement. Senator Vance Hartke spoke for liberals and concluded his speech with the statement ". . .and the time to get out is now." I. F. Stone received enthusiastic applause for his statement that "We won't be rid of the war until we are rid of militarism and imperialism which caused the war in the first place and will continue to cause more wars."

Reverand Ralph Abernathy, head of SCLC, said: "You must understand this war as the major expression of racism and repression in this country." As further evidence, he cited the attempts of Nixon to make the racist former strike-breaker and murderer, Calley, into a sort of folk hero. Other speakers included Mrs. Coretta Scott King, Harold Gibbons of the Teamsters, Dave Dellinger, George Wiley of NWRO, and Sallye Davis, who said: "I bring you greetings from my daughter, Angela, who would be here today were it not for the fact that she is in solitary confinement in Marin County, California." Many in the crowd were struck by the tragic irony of Angela's being in solitary confinement at the same time that Calley has virtually unlimited freedom of movement around Fort Benning. (Nixon's compassion apparently does not extend beyond scabs and murderers to include revolutionary Black People.)

CCC; Probation, Expulsion, Arrest

On Tuesday, May 4th, seven people were arrested at the campus publications office of Cuyahoga Community College. Six of those arrested were members of the *Black Liberator*, the previous Black newspaper that was expelled from the college by the president and administration of CCC on February 19th. The arrests on May 4th were a culmination of the tension concerning the expulsion of the *Black Liberator* from campus and formation of a new black publication by the administration, the *Muntu Drum*.

What was the cause of the *Black Liberator* being banned from campus funds and facilities, and the arrest of members of its staff?

Initially the events that led to the arrest and expulsion began during the cafeteria boycott at CCC in the Winter quarter. On February 8th, Ken Moore, editor of the *Black Liberator*, and Kathleen Johnson were placed on disciplinary probation following a speakout in the cafeteria. A group of students then entered the serving area and left without paying. President Smith of CCC stated that the reason he placed Moore and Johnson on probation was their violation of the student Code, Section 4, which states that no person shall enter "College facilities other than the purpose of carrying on in good faith proper functions as a member of the College community."

Immediately following Moore's probation announcement, the President of CCC informed the advisor of the *Black Liberator*, Carlotta Washington, and the Liberator staff that Ken Moore could no longer remain as editor of the Liberator while on probation at the college.

The staff of the *Black Liberator* met soon after and voted that Ken Moore would remain their editor. President Smith's response to this was his memorandum on February 19th, stating that "no further issues of the *Black Liberator* are to be published until 1) an advisory board, similar to the *Commuter*'s, be established for the Liberator, and 2) a new editor must be selected in cooperation with the board to take the place of the previous editor who is nowon probation." Included was the statement that funds for the *Black Liberator* were to be immediately cut off.

What this memorandum means is that an advisory board would be established *for* (not by) the *Black Liberator* to make it more responsive to the administration.

On March 9th, the Student Givernment at CCC passed a resolution demanding: "1) the complete restoration of funds of the *Black Liberator*, and 2) that the affairs of the *Black Liberator* be left to the editor, staff, Black Affairs Department, and the Liberator Advisory Board."

"The resolution came in response to a petition signed by 951 students," Goldie Roberts, a member of the student executive board reported.

The staff of the *Black Liberator* continued to meet daily for the remainder of the quarter. "The staff still considers Ken (Moore) as our editor," it was reported by Kathleen Johnson, staff member. "He's not guilty of any crime and he will remain our editor."

Rather suddenly, at the beginning of Spring quarter, a new black newspaper was organized with the total support and recognition of the administration. On April 16th, Bob Render was elected as the editor of the new paper, the *Muntu Drum*.

It should be pointed out at this time that Bob Render is the chairman of the panel of the Student Conduct Board that heard the probation appeal of Ken Moore and Kathleen Johnson.

Upon the formation of the *Muntu Drum*, Ken Moore stated that he and his staff on the Liberator will continue to occupy their offices.

"We are willing to share these offices with other students and with the new staff (*Muntu Drum*)," Moore said.

At the same time, Bob Render stated that he was unwilling to share the office with the Liberator staff.

His reasons:

"I do not recognize the Liberator, the Black Affairs Department does nto recognize the Liberator, and the Administration does not recognize the Liberator," Render has stated.

Maintenance and Security personnel cleaned out the offices of Liberator possessions Monday, April 19th, and placed new locks on the doors.

The next event of this episode was the firing of Carlotta Washington by Booker Tall, the director of Black Affairs, on April 30th. Carlotta Washington was an assistant to the head of Black Affairs and an instructor in journalism. Carlotta Washington was also the advisor of the *Black Liberator*. She stood strong with the staff of the Liberator in their struggle to remain on campus and publish with Ken Moore as the editor.

Although Booker Tall would not comment on the dismissal, Carlotta Washington has stated that she believes that it is part of a general house cleaning of all who were associated with the Liberator.

Tuesday morning, May 4th, six or seven students associated with the Liberator entered the *Commuter-Muntu Drum* offices and sat down at four desks. At 12:30 Security officers entered the scene and gave the occupants of the office 30 minutes to leave. By the time 30 minutes were up, there were about 20 new Liberator supporters in the office.

When the police arrived at 1:00, Sylvestor Davis, assistant to the president, supervised the arrest. In all six students and one non-stutent were arrested.

Arrested were Ken moore, Kathleen Johnson, Williard Grinage, Faye Grinage (non-student), Betty Green, Pauletta Scott, and Mae Mallory. Each one was charged with trespassing and released Wednesday on $100 bail.

BREAD, PEACE, AND LAND

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STAFF: Charles Pekarek, Nancy Handley, Joe Burke, J.S. Salata, L. D. Pellegrini, Jane Brecht, Jim Miller, Mary Ann Murphy, Louise Pavlicek, Sheldon Hirsch, Jane Darrah, Jimmy Olsen, Mary Baumgartner, Larry Levner, Howard Bernstein, Derek Hamilton-Savidge.

Strike; Leece-Neville

The 500 members of Local 1377 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers walked out of the Leece-Neville plants April 29, 1971. Failure to negotiate a new contract was the primary reason for the strike. After the walkout the employees voted to stay out until a decent contract is presented. The Average wage at the two plants is $3.25 per hour or about $95 per week take home pay. Skilled machinists earn only $6,000 a year which is below poverty level for a family of four.

As usual the union bureaucrats did not support the rank and file workers. The most militant of the strikers were the younger members of the union. Unfortunately they comprised only 20% of the labor force. Several weeks before, the company laid off many of the younger workers thus decreasing the power of the younger militants.

A second ballot on the new contract was mailed out to the workers because many of the older workers expressed fear of reprisals for voting against the company. However, the secret ballot has led many to distrust the union in sending out and counting the ballots.

The new contract was ratified Friday, May 7th and the workers won the following benefits: 10 cents an hour the first year, 12 cents the second year and 14 cents the third year. With the increased cost of living steadily rising, the new increase will mean very little. The retirement fund was increased to $60 a month after 30 years service or $1250 a year after 25 years of service.

Important Notice: In order for Bread, Peace, and Land to continue publishing, we urgently need money. BPL depends almost entirely on contributions from our readers. Please send your generous contributions to BPL, P.O. Box 18007, Cleveland, Ohio, 44118. Your comments and criticisms are also welcomed; send them to the same address.

The Book Mark

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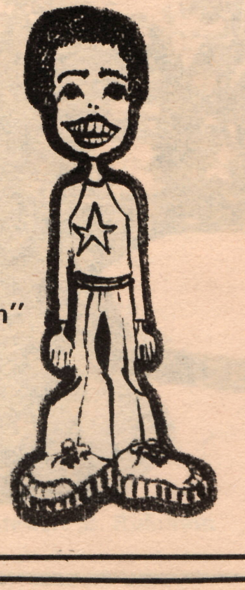

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Ages 4-14

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Mayday: Shutting Down the War Machine

Continued from page 1

demonstrators.

As everyone knows by this time, Monday's actions resulted in some 8,000 arrests. The vast majority of these busts were illegal. The government has no case whatsoever against most of the people, because they were arrested indiscriminately while they were walking along the sidewalk. They were neither advised of their rights nor charged nor processed nor allowed a phone call. Many were clubbed, gassed, or maced.

A large number of those busted were herded into a concentration camp outside of DC stadium. They had to stand in line for hours to use wholly inadequate toilet facilities. They had very little to eat, for the cops had stopped members of the surrounding black community from bringing in much needed food. They were tear gassed several times. As evening approached, they were each given an Army blanket and taken to the colliseum. Here they spent the night in cold, crowded, and dirty conditions.

George Washington University was cordoned off for 2 hours in the early afternoon. The police made several sweeps along the streets, clubbing and macing anyone who happened to be standing nearby. Everyone on the streets was arrested, including many GW students walking back and forth from classes.

Rennie Davis, spokesman for the Mayday tribe, was arrested by FBI agents as he was leaving a news conference. He was charged with conspiracy to violate the civil right of the general public through disruption and conspiracy to interfere with government workers attempting to get to their jobs.

Benjamin Spock was also arrested when he tried to lead 300 demonstrators on a march to the Pentagon.

A national meeting was called for 8:00 Monday night to discuss what tactics would be employed on Tuesday. It was decided that the main action would be a rally and march on the Juctice Department. The Primary purpose of this action would be to get our political message across to the American people through the news media. Most people felt that it would be tactically suicidal and politically meaningless to attempt to disrupt traffic again on Tuesday morning. However, during the regional meetings, there were a substantial number of people who did wish to take to the streets again to show the police that we had not been beaten.

Later that day, the courts decided to allow most of those 8,000 arrested to be freed on $10 collateral.

May 4

A rally was held in Franklin Park at 11:30 on Tuesday morning. It was attended by about 2,500 people and included an hour of speeches. Cops on motor scooters surrounded the whole park while the rally was taking place. No one was exactly sure what was going to happen.

As the rally ended, we began to march 14 blocks towards the Justice Department. Since we had a police escort all the way, we remained only on the sidewalk and were careful to obey all traffic signals. More and more people joined the march as they saw that the police would allow it to occur.

We reached the front of the Justice Department in the early afternoon and filled a whole block with over 5,000 people. We chanted and heard about 2 hours of speeches from Vietnam vets, a representative of the American Legion, and the coordinators of the demonstration. There were hundreds of news media reporters in attendance.

While the speeches were going on, 7 busloads of special riot police were brought into the area and stationed a block away. After a few hours, a police sound truck ordered us to leave immediately or be subject to arrest. However, the police sealed off both ends of the streets so quickly that all those who wanted to leave had no chance to do so. They then moved into the crowd and arrested 2,200 people, peacefully for the most part. 494 had been busted earlier in various street actions.

Among those arrested at the Justice Department was John Froines, a leader of the PCPJ. He was charged with conspiring along with Rennie Davis in Monday's disruptions. Both were released later that day – Froined after posting 10% of a $10,000 bond and Davis after posting 10% of a $25,000 bond.

Another national meeting was held Tuesday evening to discuss the next day's activities. It was decided that there would be a march on the Capitol and a sit in on the steps of the House of Representatives. The purpose of this action would be to demand that Congress ratify the People's Peace Treaty.

May 5

A rally was held across from the Capitol at 12:00 on Wednesday. After hearing some speeches, we divided into those who wanted to be arrested and those who didn't. Led by a group of Vietnam vets, we then marched to the back side of the Capitol. We were not harassed by the cops because we marched in small orderly groups. Those who were willing to face arrest sat on the steps while others stood across the street.

Another rally sponsored by the Federal Employees for Peace was held simultaneously in Lafayette Park. It drew about 1000 conservatively attired workers, many of which were on their lunch breaks. They also heard speeches and some marched to the Capitol with the main body of demonstrators.

Those on the Capitol steps then read off our demands to Congress: the ratification of the People's Peace Treaty, a $6,500 guaranteed annual income for families of four, and the release of all political prisoners from U.S. jails.

We heard speeches from 2 members of Congress: Reps. Bella Abzug, D.-N.Y. and Ronald V. Dellums, D.- Calif. Both had already signed the Treaty and were willing to face arrest by sitting with us on the House of Representatives' steps.

After an hour or so, special riot duty police entered the area in a number of busses. They surrounded the steps and began busting people. There was no verbal warning given and no one was allowed time to leave after the police had marched up. They refused to arrest Abzug and Dellums although both approached the police line early in the bust.

About 1000 were arrested on the Capitol steps and charged with "unlawful assembly." Their pictures were taken at the scene and they were peacefully loaded into a number of waiting busses. This action raised to more than 15,000 the number of arrests made in the last few weeks.

If the government won't stop the war, the people will stop the government

Photos by Roy Young

ON NONVIOLENT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

reprinted from the Mayday Tactical Manual

This is not a polemic. It is not designed to convince you to become a pacifist or argue against the theory of armed revolutionary struggle or people's war. It is an explanation of the tactic we will be using during the Mayday actions. The tactic is nonviolent civil disobedience. It was decided by the Ann Arbor Student and Youth Conference on a People's Peace which issued the call for the Mayday actions that this was the most valid tactic for this period.

In brief, the aim of the Mayday actions is to raise the social cost of the war to a level unacceptable to America's rulers. To do this we seek to create the spectre of social chaos while maintaining the support or at least toleration of the broad masses of American people. It is felt that given the current political climate in this country, it is suicidal to isolate ourselves from the 73% of the American people who wish an immediate end to the war.

The strategy that was developed at the Ann Arbor Conference sought to build support among the American people through the mass distribution and ratification of the People's Peace Treaty. With that basic "base building" well under way we would engage then in disruptive actions in major government centers, primarily Washington, D.C., (creating the spectre of social chaos) that would be supported by the "base". The tactic of nonviolent civil disobedience was chosen because it could be used effectively to disrupt government functions and yet still be interpreted favorably to the broad non-demonstrating masses of Americans. Also by engaging in **nonviolent** disruptions we severly limit the containment and dispersal options of the government and lessen the likelihood of coming into violent conflict with the G.I.s who will be ordered to disperse us and who we wish to win to our side.

America is a violent country. We are raised on a diet of violence, and therefore we feel we understand it. Nonviolent civil disobedience on the other hand is widely misunderstood and the extent of most people's knowledge is inaccurate characterizations. We need to be clear that we are not talking about an exercise in martyrdom; we are not talking about negotiated arrests; we are talking about using a tactic to attain an objective. The tactic is nonviolent civil disobedience. The objective is to close down the Federal government sections of Washington, D.C., by blocking traffic arteries during the early morning rush hours of May 3 and 4.

A working definition of nonviolent civil disobedience in this context would be A) the actions we engage in are **nonviolent** which means we don't trash or street fight; B) we are "**civil**" which means we will try to express our solidarity and friendship with G.I.'s and attempt to see the rank and file policeman as a member of the working class who's simply on the wrong side; C) We will be disobedient which means no matter what anyone says, no matter what laws we break. we are going to reach our action target—the roads, bridges, and traffic circles leading into the Federal areas of Washington—and we will not leave our action targets until we have succeeded in our target objective or until we are arrested.

CSU Prof. Jailed in D.C.

(Editor's Note: The following article was submitted by Prof. Stewart M. Robinson of Cleveland State University.)

On Monday, May 3rd, at about 6 A. M., I was arrested on 23rd St. and Constitution Avenue in Washington, D. C. for participating in all sorts of subversive activities. Among these nefarious acts were the securing of medical attention for a young friend of mine who was severely beaten about the head by a volunteer policeman and trying to point out to the press some of the more blatant illegal actions of the police; such actions as taping over badge numbers, so that they could not be reported for brutality, and the clubbing of isolated bystanders.

My arrest took place during a charge by the tactical police which appeared to be directed against the medic for our group, a former Marine and Viet Vet named Neal Downey. While my arrest involved no excessive force, the eight others arrested during this charge were less fortunate. Downey was jumped by four police who clubbed him even while he was down on the ground; a young Kent student, who was standing on a street corner writing up a story for an underground paper, had his head smashed through the glass window of the paddy-wagon when he asked the arresting officer why he was being arrested. I did not see the other arrests, and therefore feel unqualified to address myself to the behavior of the arresting officers. I did observe bruises and cuts about the face of the other men, but these may have resulted from sources other than riot clubs.

By 6:30 or so , all nine of us were driven to the Central Police Station, where we were removed from the paddy wagon and herded into a five-by-seven cell, which was to be our home for the next 7 or 8 hours.

In what must be regarded as a sincere attempt to correlate the decor of the cell block with the politics of its occupants, some sympathetic warden had recently ordered the place painted a glossy pink enamel. Unfortunately, our jailor's munificence failed to extend to the matter of adaquate plumbing: the toilets in most cells were inoperable, and urine leaked out over the cell floors. The cell block, which was meant to accomodate no more than 100 prisoners, was filled with about 600 of us.

In spite of inhuman,crowded conditions, lack of toilet facilities, lack of drinking water, and inadaquate ventilation, spirits were high all during our stay. There was nearly continual chanting and singing in our cell block and the neighboring one, which was filled with women prisoners. I was able to smuggle into the prison my favorite weapon —a felt tipped pen— and covered the walls and ceiling with political slogans and one or two poems, the verses of which have long since escaped my memory.

During those periods when my comrades were resting their throats and I was recuperating from writer's cramp, we engaged in quiet political rap sessions with ourselves and our jailers. One of our cell mates, Gary Mundt, served as a captain with the 432nd AMS at Udorn, Thailand. He explained to us how the so-called unarmed reconnaissance planes were surrounded in flight by armed fighter bombers–which were exactly the same type of plane and marked in the same way-- and when Laotian or Vietnamese anti-aircraft gunners returned fire at these planes, the air force would announce that the air attack was a 'protective reaction' strike in response to the firing on an unarmed plane. Gary resigned from the airforce, and was one of the Viet Vets Against the War who threw his medals down at the Capitol steps a few weeks previously.

After 6 or 7 hours in the jail, we were finally booked and fingerprinted, and about thirty minutes later, a breezy young police lieutenant entered our cell block, making peace signs with both hands and smiling an award winning toothy grin. He informed us that if we quieted down and stopped insisting upon our rights to legal counsel and to make a reasonable number of phone calls we would be arraigned and out before dinner.

We were advised to follow him into the prison bus, which would whisk us off to superior court and then to freedom. When the bus was filled, this pied-police piper pleaded with us to squeeze in so that more of our brothers and sisters could get on board. When the 30 passenger bus was filled up with 75 compliant and compressed souls, the police officer locked the various doors and departed.

After two or three hours in the bus, a few of us began banging on the sides and shouting for attention. One of our number, a more sensitive idealogue than the rest, objected to our cacaphonous behavior: he pointed out that we might alienate the police. (I suggested to this person that were we to succeed in alienating the police, they might lock us up in the bus for several hours.)

Our symphony did produce results! After four hours, we were allowed out to use toilet facilities and fill a few water canteens, and by 8:30 P. M. we were given our first meal of the day . . . a baloney sandwich which had been donated by sympathizers.

Finally, we were driven to court, where we waited another two or three hours in the court cell block, and then we began to be called up for arraignment.

Since the officer who arrested me booked me as Valerie Robinson and the policeman who charged me at the prison recorded my name as A. P. Robertson, some confusion resulted at the court, and my arraignment was delayed until 1:30 A. M. Since court was already in session when I entered, I had no opportunity to speak with the legal aid lawyer who was present and he was not apprised of the circumstances of my arrest.

When the arraigning judge, Byron Sorrell, asked me how I was going to plead, I immediately began to object to the kangaroo court procedure used that day. Not only was I guilty of no crime, but also the arrest procedure was illegal, I (and also every other person in our cell block) was allowed no phone call, and even in court I was not allowed the right to consult with my attorney.

Although the judge hinted around at contempt charges, a quick glance around the packed court room convinced him that the audience was unlikely to tolerate such high-handed judicial behavior, so he acceeded to the lawyer's request for a five minute recess.

After politely dozing through my lawyer's arguemments, Judge Sorrell responded by placing my bail at $250 in cash. When a sympathetic observer offered to accept personal responsibility for my appearance on the trial date, a procedure which usually involves the dropping of all cash bail, the judge was persuaded to lower the cash amount to $50. This burst of generosity, however, was coupled with the remark that anyone with an appearance like mine had no right to teach. I began to respond to this gratuitous insult by pointing out to this bigot that the onus for my unkempt appearance lied precisely with his fellow pig: Police Chief Jerry Wilson, who kept us sitting on a urine soaked floor for so many hours. My lawyer, however, restrained me from completing my statement.

The final act in this personal drama occured when the judge decided to penalize me for my contumacious behavior by not allowing me to bail myself out until the court adjourned. Thus, I was kept in the prisoners' docket through three or four cases.

By this time, however, word had gotten through Sorrell's thick skull that everyone else was releasing people on $10 forfieture bond, and he allowed the last few defendants out on this type of bond. Since I was still hanging around, my lawyer demanded that my bail be lowered to this amount. After a few angry twitches and some sort of legal hassle, the judge consented to the $10 bail for me.

Thus, 23 hours after it had begun, my life as a political prisoner ended.

Together with a few others who were released at the same time, I walked around Washington for a few hours and talked with bus drivers, a few construction workers who were on the way to work. and workers in a cafeteria. Their support and encouragement was infectious—it gave us the bug to spend another day in Washington and raise some hell at the Justice Department.

By Stewart M. Robinson

U.S. Holding Back The Morning

Chinese farmers burn their landlord's deeds during the 1951 land reform.

(The article which follows was presented in a series of discussions on topics of current interest in a course on political economy at American University in the fall 1970 semester. The article was re-printed in the March 1971 issue of the Monthly Review, *which is one of the leading independent socialist magazines published in the U. S. The subscription rate for* MR *is $7.00 per year from Monthly Review, 116 West 14th Street, New York N. Y. 10011.)*

By Harry Magdoff

Compressing an analysis of the impact of U. S. foreign policy on underdeveloped countries into a brief presentation must necessarily result in what may appear to be a recitation of dogmatic assertions. This will seem especially so when the position taken flies in the face of conventional wisdom and the common currency of academic discourse. Yet even though such compression involves omission of supporting evidence, steps in the reasoning process, and necessary qualifications, a digest of the main argument may nevertheless help clarify the essential differences between the radical and customary views on the subject.

Foreign Policy Vs. Popular Interest

The crux of my position is that there exists a fundamental clash between U. S. foreign policy and the interests of the people in the underdeveloped world. To examine the roots of this clash--of what in effect is a conflict of interest--we need first to be clear about the answers to two questions: (1) What is U. S. foreign policy? and (2) What are the major restraints on the modernization of underdeveloped nations?

The stumbling block to answering the first question is that U. S. foreign policy may at first blush seem to be but a jumble of diverse, bumbling, and contradictory actions and programs. In fact, learned journals specializing in international affairs will at times publish lengthy articles complaining about the absence of a clear-cut foreign policy consistent with avowed principles. But these yearners for consistency overlook, on the one hand, the variety of pressures that contribute to day-to-day policy decisions, and, on the other hand, the inevitable contrast between the ideology and ideals of foreign policy around which public opinion is mobilized and the underlying reality.

Even though the day-to-day policy decisions are the product of numerous, and not necessarily consistent, political, military, and economic variables, and even though these decisions are made by diverse human beings, some competent and some incompetent, a clearly discernible major trend of foreign policy nevertheless does exist. We know from physics and chemistry that elements and compounds will, under certain conditions of volume, pressure, and temperature, assume different phases. But we also know that while water, for example, may under certain conditions appear as steam, and under other conditions as ice, its inherent nature remains H2O. A similar essential nature of U. S. foreign policy can be detected throughout the various phases of hot war, cold war, strident militancy, and moments of hesitation. This major drift of U. S. foreign policy has two closely related components:

The Nature of U. S. Foreign Policy

1. A drive to maintain as much of this globe as possible free for private trade and enterprise. Subsumed under this are such considerations as (a) the prevention of competitive empires from acquiring privileged trading and investment preserves to the disadvantage of U. S. business interests, and (b) wherever feasible, the attainment of a preferred trading and investment position for U. S. business.

2. The promotion of counter-revolution. This too is composed of several elements: (a) abortion of incipient social revolutions, (b) suppression of social revolutions in process, and (c) counterrevolution against established socialist societies--through war, economic pressure, or corruption of leaders and nations in the socialist fold.

Such a basic foreign policy is not peculiar to the United States, nor is it a policy peculiar to the post-Second-World-War period. The conflict of interest among the advanced capitalist nations for the division and re-division of the world has been an integral part of what the textbooks call "modern history," hammered into the annals by two world wars. Nor is the nervous, military reaction to social revolutions merely a current aberration. It is now one hundred years since the conquering German army joined forces with the conquered French army to throttle the Paris Commune. Long before the atom bomb was developed and long before the Soviet Union could be considered an effective expansionist power, the Allied Powers at the Versailles Treaty table were plotting the destruction of the infant Bolshevik revolution. In fact, the United States along with other Allied Powers sent armed forces to join the counter-revolution against the Bolsheviks. It is within this historic context, and the even longer record of expansionism in the growth of our republic, that the consistency of U. S. foreign policy can be traced.

A foreign policy of this sort has special relevance for the underdeveloped nations because it is precisely social revolution--the nemesis of U. S. policy--that is the order of the day in the Third World. To appreciate this clash of interests we need to examine the second question raised above: what holds back modernization of the underdeveloped nations?

The usual textbook approach to the industrial backwardness of the Third World is to list a host of twenty, thirty, or more common characteristics of underdevelopment. The trouble with such an approach is that little distinction is made between symptoms and causes. More often than not, in this seemingly hopeless amassing of difficulties, a way out is sought by focussing on a panacea such as population control--and even that panacea is examined as a technical problem, independent of the social and economic environment which contributes to the pressure of population and remains an obstacle to "gimmicky" solutions.

If these long, eclectic arrays of symptoms of underdevelopment have any virtue, it is to illustrate that the problem has deeper roots than, for example, the popularly held notion that lack of natural resources is a major cause of a nation's poverty and stagnation. In fact there are advanced countries with poor resources and underdeveloped countries with rich natural resources. More important, the very extensiveness of the number of characteristic features of underdevelopment suggests the potential inadequacy of mere tinkering with reforms of existing social structures, and introduces the issue of a need for wholesale restructuring and redirection of these societies.

The Focus of Academic Thought

The main direction of U. S. academic thought and U. S. foreign policy, however, is to shrink from the dangerous implications of restructuring social and economic systems. Instead, the focus is on simpler, more comfortable, and safer ways out: population control and the spread of modern technology through foreign investment and foreign aid. The more thoughtful advocates of the population-control remedy recognize that it is far from a cure-all. At best it is a stop-gap measure (assuming it can work under the existing socioeconomic conditions) to hold the line against a mounting danger of mass starvation in face of the slight progress made in increasing food production.

The more basic remedy is usually identified as the transfer of capital and technology from the rich to the poor nations: a consequence of the conventional diagnosis that the underlying causes of backwardness are the lack of modern technology and the shortage of domestic capital. Such a prescription is clearly consistent with the diagnosis; it is also consistent with the ideology under which U. S. foreign policy parades. The trouble is that the diagnosis is wrong.

The Role of Technology

To many in the advanced nations, and especially to those in the United States, technology looms as talisman, a type of magic art: just let it loose in foreign lands and all the wonders of prosperity will follow. One needs only to reflect a bit on the U. S. condition to realize how shallow this faith is. Thus, despite the availability of the most advanced technology and despite the large transfers of funds, the Appalachian region remains a major pocket of poverty and underdevelopment. And how far have technology and a surplus of domestic capital gone in solving the problem of the ghettos?

The dimensions of the poverty problem are much greater, of course, in the underdeveloped nations. But to understand the question of inadequate technology in those regions, we have to recognize that technology does not stand alone--it needs people to use it. And it is on the latter we have to concentrate for an answer: the willingness and ability of the people inside the country to apply improved technology which will put the unemployed to work and which will raise the output of the people at work. To take advantage of technology, it is necessary, among other things, to have a literate population, a high social evaluation of science and scientific method, and receptivity on a mass scale to technological innovation. This is especially so because the technology most needed is not arcane computers and complex electronic systems in a few key cities, but an extensive spread of technology throughout the agricultural sector--that sector in which the largest part of the population of the underdeveloped countries is to be found.

This does not mean that more advanced technology could not be used to good advantage. We need to understand though that there is no instant magic, no basic solution to the problems of development, in the wonders of modern science and technology. The requirements in the Third World--where an agricultural as well as an industrial revolution is needed--extend to steel plows, wheelbarrows, small pumps, and irrigation systems. The need is not only for equipment, but for selection of seeds and plants and improved techniques in the use of the land. For this, the mass of the people have to change; more important, the constraints on the development of the people have to be removed.

Obstacles to Change

The crucial obstacles to the needed changes are not to be found in the innate nature of the people, or in special features of their culture, or in their religion. The obstacles, instead, are located in the social institutions under which the people live, in the type of landowning, in the vested interests of the large landowners and businessmen, and in the social priorities imposed by the ruling classes. Let me cite a simple illustration. One of the puzzling aspects of India's economic trials has been the seeming indifference of small farmers to undertake simple work needed to irrigate the land they work. The Indian government spent large sums of money to dig broad canals in order to make more water available for farming. But the farmers failed to take advantage of this potential boost to their output; they did not dig the ditches needed to bring the water from the rivers and canals to their small plots. I once asked a leading U. S. agricultural specialist who had spent a great deal of time in India: what went wrong? was it laziness? stupidity? ignorance? The conservative agronomist laughed at my naive questions. The simplest and most ignorant farmer, he explained patiently, knows the importance of water. But the irrigation ditches had to pass over land owned by big landowners who exacted a tax for the use of the ditches--a tax farmers could not possibly pay.

Furthermore, given a profit-directed economy along with extensive poverty, there is no percentage in the mass production of improved farm tools, equipment, and chemicals needed for upping farm output. The technology for most of these essential products is not complex, nor are the domestic businessmen stupid. The entrepreneurs do not do what is needed for economic development because there is not enough potential profit in such undertakings, or because they can make more profit in other ventures.

For these reasons, and others, social revolutions are the order of the day for most of the underdeveloped world; revolutions that remove the power of those classes whose interests are in the status quo; revolutions that change the social priorities, open the floodgates of education, arouse the enthusiasm of the large masses of the people, and change the production structure to produce what is needed for the advancement of the people and not what brings the most profit to the property owners.

Once the issue of social revolution is introduced, the capital-shortage factor--a primary canon of economic orthodoxy--assumes a new significance. First, the revolution can quite quickly halt two major sources of waste of capital: (a) by severely reducing the consumption of the rich and the better-heeled middle classes, and (b) by confiscating foreign-owned investments. Such steps are useful in two ways: (a) the profits of agriculture, manufacturing, mining, and commerce can be fully utilized for the most important development projects, and (b) scarce foreign exchange can be more effectively applied to purchase of raw materials and equipment, instead of being drained off for the import of luxuries and for payment of profits, interest, royalties, and management fees to foreign investors.

Labor Substitute for Capital

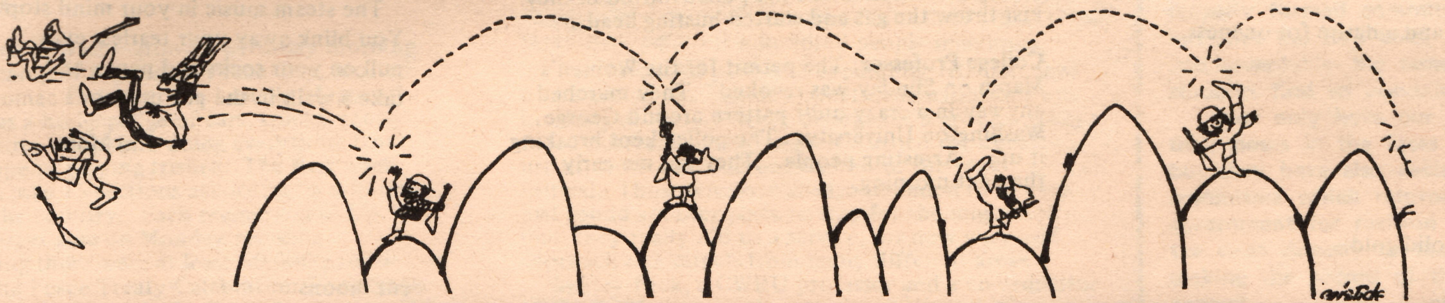
The second contribution a social revolution makes to the tackling of the capital-shortage obstacle is through mobilization of labor to be used to some degree as a substitute for capital. A great deal of necessary construction, for example, can be obtained this way. Naturally, it would be better to use machinery. But if there is no machinery, and the need is great, idle and underutilized labor can be used, for example, for road-building, flood control, irrigation works, and housing construction--as was done in the centuries before there were bulldozers, trucks, cranes, etc. This is not the ideal solution, but it is a solution that faces up to the reality that God helps those who help themselves. If you will permit me another homely illustration, let us consider the question of rat control. In many of the underdeveloped countries, the rat population destroys a significant proportion of the annual farm crop. With adequate capital investment, it is possible to string electrified low wires around fields that will kill marauding rats. Since there is little electricity and no money for wires, the rats get their fill. Ironically, as has been shown by the revolution in China, the organized effort of masses of people, devoted to first things first, can get rid of the rats, without the benefit of modern technology.

A third contribution to overcoming the capital-shortage problem is the revolution's concentration on education and health for the masses. Aside from humanitarian considerations, improved nutrition and medical care contribute to raising the productivity of labor. Education quite obviously adds to human capital. For many of these countries, the issue is not only the achievement of universal literacy but redirection of the educational priorities from one of training an elite ruling group (schooled in the humanities, law and medicine for the urban well-to-do) to one that builds on (a) science and mathematics needed for mastery of technology and greater self-reliance, and (b) politics and economics needed for resourceful and effective economic and social planning. Again, the need is not only for the seemingly esoteric and complex. To advance in scientific farming, farmers who can confidently keep books and do arithmetic are needed. The question we need to ask ourselves is: Why, in the twentieth century, has it taken social revolutions to make the most dramatic leaps in health and education for the vast majority of the population?

From whichever angle we approach the problem of development, we hit against the limits imposed by the established social institutions and the priorities (or values, if you wish) protected by the existing ruling classes. And these are the very ruling classes that are protected and nurtured by the advanced capitalist nations-most particularly in these days, by the military and foreign policy of the United States. The social systems of the underdeveloped countries have a long history, one that is dominated by the colonial and semi-colonial arrangements imposed under the *force majeure* of the successful and rich capitalist nations. Primarily by force, but also by the perpetuation of the resulting economic relations, the Third World was converted primarily into a supplier of raw materials and food for the metropolitan centers, and a buyer, to the extent its resources permitted, of the manufactured goods produced in the industrialized nations. The resulting economic structure created at one and the same time (a) an economy whose resources are bent to supply the needs of the industrialized nations, and (b) ruling classes whose prosperity, whether they like it or not, stems from a perpetuation of this dependency; in short, a subservient component of the imperialist network of trade and investment.

Restructuring Economies

A new departure toward development, instead of underdevelopment, entails a restructuring of these industrially backward economies to obtain greater flexibility and a more effective use of their own resources, a redirection of their societies to meet the needs of the people rather than to foster the prosperity of the wealthy at home and abroad. Necessarily contained in this new departure is, in addition, a release from the psychological dependence on the culture and "superiority" of the advanced nations, along with the blossoming in the population as a whole of self-confidence, self-reliance, and independence in thought and action. By exerting its efforts to contain the revolutionary impulse that seeks to free itself from the material and psychological bonds of imperialism, U.S. foreign policy (including its military posture and action), in effect, is the primary obstacle to the development of the underdeveloped nations.



From BOHEMIA, Havana

Review

FANSHEN: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village. By William Hinton. Vintage Giant. $2.95. 637 pages. 1966.

There is no Jade Emperor in heaven.
There is no Dragon King on earth.
I am the Jade Emperor.
I am the Dragon King.
Make way for me you hills and mountains.
I'm coming!
–Chinese peasant song, 1958

Since the U.S. table tennis team visited the People's Republic of China last month at the invitation of the Chinese government there has been more information available about People's China, mainly of a favorable sort, in the American press than one used to see in years of presswatching. No doubt this is because Nixon's miniscule gestures toward China (such as referring to it by its official name, "People's Republic of China", instead of the usual "Red China" or "Peiping"[sic] à la Dean Rusk) gave the go-ahead to the usually timid American press establishment. Typically the treatment given last month's press dispatches from China began with a pat-on-the-back preface to the effect that "now for the first time the U.S. public has a chance to peer behind the mysterious Bamboo Curtain...thanks to our reporters."

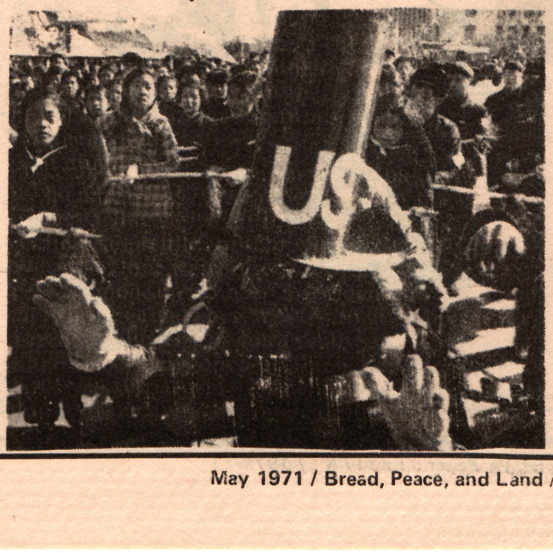
This is garbage. If a serious student of contemporary China began today to read all that has been written about People's China in book form alone it would take him years. There are literally dozens of valuable eyewitness accounts of the Chinese Revolution going back as far as the U.S. reporter Edgar Snow's 1937 classic *Red Star Over China.* Curiously enough, although the U.S. establishment press has been worse than uninformative on the subject of China, many individual Americans have made important contributions. Names that come to mind... Snow, Jack Beldin, Franz Schurmann, and, especially, William Hinton.

Hinton's vivid account of revolutionary land reform in "Long Bow" Village, Lucheng County, Shansi Province, in northern China during spring and summer 1948 gives a unique understanding of what the Chinese Revolution has meant to hundreds of millions of Chinese farm-people.

Fanshen – which means roughly "to turn over a new leaf" – has the color, sweep, and concern for individual human personalities of a novel. Bill Hinton always takes care to relate what is happening in his little village to the panorama of a China engaged in gigantic struggle, with armies of millions battling on hundred mile fronts and thousands of Communist Part cadres moving out among the people to mobilize them for epochal change. And in turn his sensitively detailed recounting of confused revolutionary progress in one obscure village gives the gargantuan statistics of masses of people moving a human face – the stubborn face of Old Lady Wang chewing out the men in a meeting, or of Little Chu'er, gloomy but conscientious, or Hu Hsueh-chen's face, swarthy and strong-boned, the first woman in Long Bow Village to bob her hair and the first woman party member as well. The actual face of China's humanity.

What *Fanshen* brings home to us is that what happened in China could have only happened because millions of people in villages like Long Bow all across the breadth of China became involved directly in political action to change their social and economic life. This direct involvement, much more than the passive act of casting a ballot in a "free" election in our country, makes the rhetoric of "Power to the People" mean something.

by Jim Miller



LITERARY MAGAZINE IN EXILE

Poem Scraped With Contraband Fifty-cent Piece On Prison Wall In Parchman, Mississippi Summer, 1961

Know now
No hero here nohow
If ever hung on tree
The way they done JC
I'd be cross, I guess
HELL YES

-----Dan*el

My Alma Mater

May fourth, four more dead, another march
Coffins by candlelight; the slaughtered innocents
To be buried in effigy; Jesus-faced carpenters
Doubling as pallbearers: arts & crafts in the vanguard
Of the revolution-in a homemade coffin, a homemade victim
Old clothes stuffed with rags or newspapers; a shiny plastic
American flag, our scars & stripes forever, the death mask
Faces - familiar - flicker by; stars scatter and hide
A few flowers around our make-believe corpse
Make me think again: the final death of flower power
Speeches at the open graves: what can be said
That hasn't been said, that hasn't already been said
My Lai, Cambodia, Black Panthers
And now, of all places, my alma mater, Kent State
O America, evil bitch in high fever
You are devouring the young
While in the early morning tenderness
The tears of the dead mingle with the dew
And the victory bell, that had once so hopefully tolled
Told the majority to right on, now rests in silence
That ringing in the ears?
Merely the echo of gunfire

----Dan*el

*Editors note: Dan*el is a local poet of considerable repute. In his quest for knowledge, he has attended among others, Kent State and our own beloved institution. CSU*

RUSTING

1.
It often got hot on the *Rue de la Paix*.

2.
They must carry style and a desire for oneness.

3.
Two headlights are

4.
I still hate you.

5.
My watch is made of solid gold.

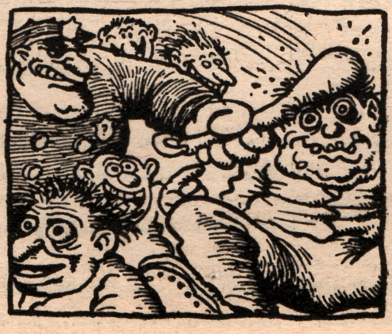
----j s salata

MAY DAY TESTiMONY

Quaker Woman: People have been arrested....The cells were very crowded....The judge that I had was not very sympathetic at all....He lectured us....Put us under house arrest....Praying without a permit is a felony....We stand trial June 14th....We will not stand for the judge....We will not call him "Your Honor."

Black Woman: I was arrested around 11 o'clock Sunday morning....This line of pigs comes from this end....I was walking across the street....What can they do?....We soon found out..........Maggie was a Jesus Freak....They proceeded to beat her in the stomach.....Found out later she was pregnant....Found out later she had a tooth knocked out....I grabbed her head before it hit the ground....Her handcuffs were so tight that her wrists were cut....Officer Hammond rubbed his crotch at the women....Said "Hippy broads' tits stink."....There was this woman we figured was a plant....She kept taunting Maggie, harrassing her....Chicks started chanting.... Everyone....We had magic markers....Did those cells a job....They blamed Maggie....They kept poking her....She kept screaming...."O god! I'm going to abort! Somebody come and help me!"

Minister: A few words of praise for the Washington police force....Calculated use of violence....Flying squad of motor scooters....Picked out the youngest girl in the crowd....Club her to the ground....Black people brought food to the jail....Police refused to allow it to get to the prisoners.



College Student: Flying squad....Rapped the kid on the back of the head....We went to his aid.... Asked the cops to call an ambulance....They said that they couldn't....The streets were blocked....

College Student: I got taken in fairly early Monday morning....There were chartered busses they put us in....A lot of people kicked out the emergency windows and escaped....We tried to push a bus out into the intersection....We were held from 8 AM till 1 AM the next morning....Sitting in the urine.... No phone calls....No food.

College Student: When the police moved in they just threw the gas and started busting heads.

College Professor: The permit for the Women's March on Sunday was revoked....They marched anyway in a crazy quilt pattern around George Washington University....The police kept breaking it up.... Arresting people....They got me early the next morning.

Lost And Found At The Huntington Gallery

Now-a-days the parting of the ways comes so more often so less spaced stop-gapped in time
All I brought was typing paper to he who was seeking the eternal typist
Ghosts in the pillars steeple through the branches of the unbearing trees windows hiding people the museum is closed all day Mondays
Two hours to kill and forever ain't so very long at all
The man in the red jacket carries a tiny yellow packet and his long hair tells the story of the times
The government's an -ism and enlightened despotism can't carry us back home from all our crimes
Fathers lose their sons and I pick a poem to cry myself to see
The man who loved the language put it in a hero sandwich and broke the borders looking for a life
His children came in sizes and each his god despises the father of the mother of the wife
Pater Noster save our skins and forgive us all our sins someday soon grant us shelter from the strife

----Charles Pekarek

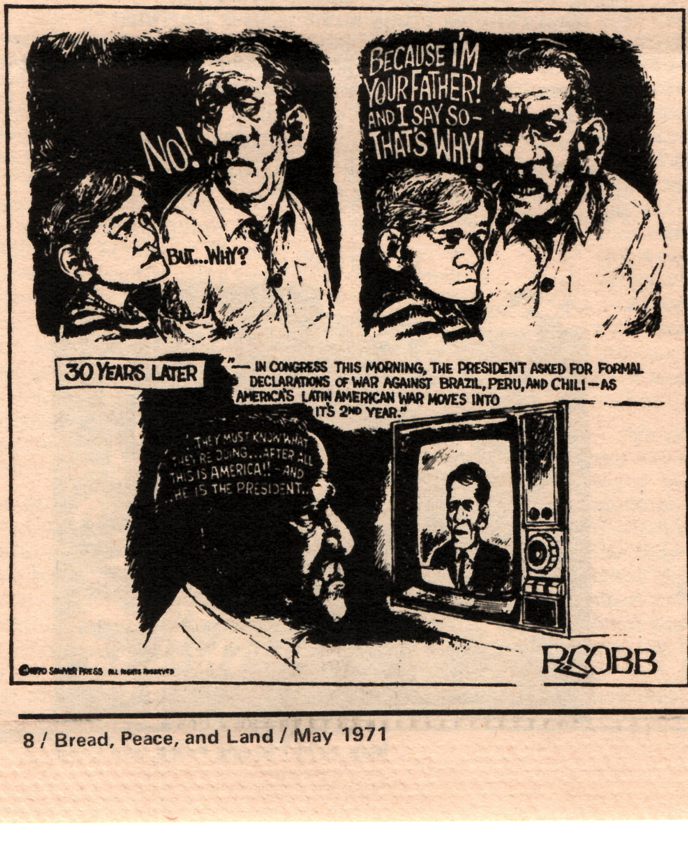
In 1918 Tom Sails Off For Europe's War and Leaves The Composer and Businessman Charles E. Ives To His Own Thoughts

You Charlie have the cold running water
of your land, your pickle bright
visions of Emerson and the Alcotts,
your new briefs for Yankee insurance
(Woolworth tonepoems! Wall Street toccatas!)
but then, and then, what else
inside your round deep eyes: cells of light, strange fluids?
Certainly.
Columbia standing on her head?

When Tom parts for the war, leaving his lonely cabbage patch,
and trudges toward the sun with its fatuous beams
then he will feel old death's arm hung on his shoulder:
Old chap in courderoy, bristlefaced,
where will you be? Up in the emptying music room?
Up with the daily Bach dose and fresh pillow cases?

Below the silverglobes of your bed, its trembling
coverlet, you feel the tough paper of your body,
penis old and flapping, and, on the wall,
martyred McKinley hung between the fading diamonds
Suddenly (and for good) you're old.
The steam music in your mind stops.
You blink away your tearless eyes,
pull on your socks and pants, and
take a walk in the pasture land.

----Jim Miller


No!
But...why?
Because I'm your father! And I say so- that's why!
30 Years Later
"— In Congress this morning, the President asked for formal declarations of war against Brazil, Peru, and Chili—as America's Latin American war moves into its 2nd year."
...They must know what they're doing...after all this is America!!—and he is the President...
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R. Cobb

The mice were so small
the room was hunchbacked
in my
Parma Patio Pontiac
Patio Parma Pontiac
Parma Pontiac Patio
Somewhere UP
on the twelfth epistomological level
I am vaguely amused
The world is
Frantic
Frantic
Frantic
Antic
Frantic, Judy Collins bring me down
Bring me down
Someone, please, settle and
award me this converse trophy

----Greg Hrach

cut moons
sometimes the day will rock you like a half a melon
like a
cut moon halved for your pleasure
dusks
where the stuffing kept walking out on the couch and the carpeting wouldn't give anything up to the broom and very little to your hands

all about the changing of light in one color

i fed the steam heater
water
placing glasses on top of it
four cups filled takin in in the time of one cup or seven

----ellen taubman

WHO OPENED UP YOUR MIND TODAY
THE DOOR IS WIDE OPEN AND THE CONSTANT
HUMMING OF PROGRESS IS CAUSING A DRAFT
EVERYTHING IS BEING STREWN ABOUT
STRUGGLE ENDLESSLY LIKE TRYINGTO SWIM
AGAINST THE TIDE
THE DRAFT BLEW THE DOOR SHUT
MAYBE WHEN IT QUIETS DOWN IT WILL OPEN
AGAIN

----LeRoy Schwartz